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The British Constitution invulnerable.

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ANIMADVERSIONS

ON A

LATE PUBLICATION,

ENTITLED

THE JOCKEY CLUB.

Audendum est, ut illustrata veritas pateat,
Multique ab errore liberentur.

LACTANT.

Let *him* cry Blackmoore—Devil, whose skin is white,
— — — — — — — —
Let *him* reprove that's innocent :——— in vain—
The *Gracchi* of sedition must complain.

TATE IMIT. JUV.

LONDON:

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INTRODUCTION.

THE evil principle, through a policy the moſt refined, is commonly concealed under an external appearance of ſanctity; and ſentiments of morality are ever uppermoſt in the profeſſions of the men, whoſe poiſoned arrows are directly aimed at the exiſtence of all moral excellence.

Under this pretext we behold, volume after volume teeming from

 the

the preſs, a publication containing a pretended deſcription of characters well known in this country for their high rank, or their great talents; which is interſperſed with relations the moſt indecent and the moſt ſcandalous—in which propriety, and humanity, and truth, are equally outraged.

In this work, called the *Jockey Club*, is held up to univerſal deteſtation, not merely the blacklegs of Newmarket; not only the characters (at all times ſufficiently numerous) whoſe execrable habits of life require no ſuch labour to make them notorious; but the juſt and the unjuſt, the amiable and the brutiſh, the pious and the abandoned, vice and virtue, truth and falſehood, wiſ-

wiſdom and folly, meet, as with a peſtilential blaſt, one common, wretched fate!

The author of this libellous publication, drawing encouragement from the ſale of his pamphlets, becomes bloated with inſolence, and gives the reins to an unqualified abuſe, compounded of infamous falſehoods and daring calumnies.

No character, however exalted in public, or however amiable in private life, is found too ſacred to eſcape his invectives—who, with an unparalleled effrontery, ſets himſelf up as the judge of mankind, *becauſe* "he is conſcious of his numberleſs "errors;" and as an "atonement" for his own deficiencies, by an ori-

ginal kind of penance, "impoſed on himſelf," undertakes the taſk of "enforcing," as he calls it, "the "practice of liberality, virtue, and "truth in others!"

If there are few who ſo readily ſpeak the truth of *themſelves*, there are not wanting in theſe days many men whoſe characters, if not worſe, are certainly not a tittle better, from whom every day is heard the hue and cry of "Corruption—tyranny —luxuries," and all the reſt of the cant to be found in the common places of their predeceſſors, from the time that the conſtitution of this country has been the pride and glory of its beſt and moſt enlightened ſubjects, and the admiration of the whole world.

Of

Of the publication in queſtion, we are miſtaken if we ſuppoſe that the *characters* of our nobility and gentry are the only objects of its malevolence. The plot is deeper laid than the aſſaſſination of *individual* reputation. The uplifted arm of ſedition is levelled at the juriſprudence of this country, at its ancient conſtitution, and at every law and every contract human and divine. Whatever of novelty may be attempted by this retailer of his hackneyed theſis, the doctrine is the ſame with all thoſe of his Jacobin brethren; it is the old cuckoo note that we hear, but the bird is perched on another tree.

From continental anarchies and horrors, the inconſiderate and the lawleſs

lawleſs are inſidiouſly endeavouring to kindle in this country a flame, which nothing ſhort of the blood of its inhabitants deluging the land will be able to extinguiſh.

"The *ariſtocracy* of this country," and "the luxury of courts and palaces," are the ghoſts which haunt the peaceful vigils, and "excite horrors" in the imaginations of men, not ſeldom to be ſeen immured within the confines of our priſons for their nefarious practices.

The preſent ſituation of *France*, is repreſented as having an intimate connection with the politics of the Engliſh nation. Happy for us, however, the artifice is too glaring, and the effects of that chaos which with

with every hour come to light, though late, come nevertheleſs ſufficiently in time to warn us of the danger; and to counteract the pompous adulations laviſhed on a ſyſtem, (if ſuch it can be called) in which religion, policy, and prudence, ſeem to have been conſidered as *ariſtocrats*, and to have long ſince received their paſſport.

In ſeeking ſome channel through which *ſedition* might be navigated with greater facility, it was ſoon diſcovered that *ſlander*, from its various courſe, and from the velocity of its current, was, in every view, moſt favourable to convey the freight. Among the numerous pamphlets, which are made the vehicles of ſcandal,

dal, thoſe known by the name of *Magazines* furniſh us with a variety of notorious inſtances of its popularity and ſucceſs; where nothing more is neceſſary, to inſure a rapid ſale, than with a few ſheets of miſcellaneous compilation, to include ſome ſhameleſs hiſtory of a tête-à-tête.

In this faſhion of addreſſing the Public, ſuch writers have in view, objects not leſs of policy than pride. "Cenſure," ſays a great moraliſt, "is willingly indulged, becauſe it "always implies ſome ſuperiority; "men pleaſe themſelves with ima-"gining that they have made a "deeper ſearch or wider ſurvey "than others, and detected faults

" and follies which have eſcaped
" vulgar obſervation."

He who would fancy himſelf above the reſt of men, it is only neceſſary for him, in his marauding, to ſingle out characters diſtinguiſhed for their great talents or their high ſtation; and however invulnerable the objects, provided he can rave and foam and cut the air, will ſoon begin to ſwell in his own eſtimation, and ſacrifice to his own ſhrine. He whoſe object is to be heard, muſt ſound the trumpet, and the blaſt of ſlander will reverberate far and wide: or ſing to the tune of *ſalus populi*, and burſts of applauſe will reſound from every jail in England. If ſuch can make

themſelves heard it is enough, though it be only by confuſion and diſcord.

To all ſuch writings as the *Jockey Club*, would belong nothing but ſilence and contempt, did not the falſehoods, the indecencies, the ſeditious doctrines, and the daring libels contained in this infamous publication call aloud for execration and for puniſhment. To prove theſe aſſertions is the object of the following animadverſions. And according to a former obſervation, as it is to *principles* not leſs than *perſons* againſt which are directed the firebrands of ſedition; to detect the ſophiſtry of the former, will moſt effectually bring diſcredit on the latter;

latter; concerning which it is only neceſſary to ſay with Cicero, "*Perditi hominis profligatique maledictis nullius gloria dignitaſq; violatur.*"

Moral

ANIMADVERSIONS, &c.

Moral and Political Virtue.

" WHO, willing to make ſome *expia-*
" *tion* for his innumerable follies and extra-
" vagances, is *endeavoring* to inculcate the
" principles of all moral and political vir-
" tue *,

Such is the account which this writer publiſhes of himſelf to the world; we may therefore be allowed to ſpeak of his *motives*, as he himſelf has mentioned them, and to conſider how far the execution ſeems adapted to the purpoſe.

* Jockey Club, Part II. p. 84.

To

To collect the particulars of this gentleman's " follies and extravagancies," would be a task neither very difficult, nor very grateful. His own essays of this kind are sufficient to deter from such attempts all his successors in that kind of biography; excepting those, whose miserable occasions oblige them to hazard all effects, for the chance of extricating themselves from the cause.

We shall therefore dismiss all his former " extravagances and follies," and only notice a little the last of this description, which however is not the least.

This doctrine of " Expiation ;"——this act of averting punishment by " pious or- " gies," savors very much of popery; except indeed the penitent gentleman is become a convert to the opinions of Arminius: who, supposing him to hold the doctrine, would not we presume readily admit the inference. But it may very safely be taken for granted, had he lived to see his opinions in the garb of modern refinement, he would have dis-

avowed

avowed both the one and the other. It muſt therefore be admitted that this ſpecies of "expiation" is of an original kind*, for which the author muſt have the ſole and excluſive merit.

Let us ſee then how well he has acquitted himſelf in this, and whether the ſacrifice be conſumed in vain.

Without entering into a formal definition of moral and political virtue, it will be rea-

* Another method, not leſs original, of "atoning "for numberleſs errors," was exhibited a few years back in Ireland:

Sentence of death was paſſed on a malefactor, who had, beſides ſeveral other robberies, ſtopped on the highway, and committed the moſt daring outrages on the perſons and property of ſeveral ladies, who were going in their carriage to an aſſembly. After his ſentence, being conducted back to his cell, he ſtruck the jailor on his face with a quart bottle, who immediately went and ſhewed himſelf to the Court in a gore of blood. The Judge ordering the inſtant execution of the criminal, the poor penitent, anxious to "atone" for his own enormities, and "to enforce "the practice of virtue in others," being obliged to aſcend the ladder, actually went up upon his *knees!*

dily admitted that the following ſubjects have at leaſt ſome *relation* to it; viz. Decency, Charity, and Truth.

Decency is here conſidered in oppoſition to *obſcenity*; among the inſtances of which in the works of this author muſt be reckoned thoſe *deſcriptions*, in which groſs ideas are concealed under equivocal expreſſions, and indecent ſubjects amplified (if poſſible) with greater indecency.

There are ſome things practiſed in the world, which it is immoral even to mention; how much more ſo to enter into the *detail* of ſuch vile abominations! Every deſcription of this nature, more effectually ſerves the cauſe of vice than if the avowed intention of the author had been to write in its defence. What moral or political virtue is to be learned from ſuch paſſages as the idle and obſcene tale reſpecting his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Clarence *?

* Part II. page 2.

The

The baſe treatment of Her Majeſty the Queen of England, and the paſſage that relates to the King in that connection? Or from the note reſpecting the Prince of Wales, Mrs. Fitzherbert, &c.*?

If theſe paſſages be not ſufficient, others might be referred to of ſtill more infamous tendency. Theſe however will be more than ſufficient, excepting to thoſe, to whom nothing would ſuffice, or be too bad.

To this ſubject might be added, this writer's attempts towards the ſubverſion of all order and propriety: his affected contempt of every perſon, the leaſt degree above himſelf: his abuſe of magiſtrates, and uniform endeavor to overthrow all civil authority. But on this head it would be abſurd to expect more than is profeſſed.

Charity is the next moral virtue we are to ſeek in theſe volumes. And if there be any *love* in invectives, in the diſtortion of

* Part III. p. 143.

characters, or in illiberal inſinuations; then ſhall we find love abounding, and be almoſt "ſmothered in roſes*".

Human deciſions are often marked with ignorance, caprice, and malevolence.

Partial to themſelves—inflexible to the failings of others, men ſeldom judge as they would chooſe to be judged.

Who made this man judge over us? Who gave to him his judiciary power? Does not OMNISCIENCE behold the evil and the good—who knows the *time* and the *meaſure* of his vengeance?

The crimes (if the accuſed *be* guilty) belong to themſelves; and only *then* become public evils, when theſe ſhameleſs reporters, by raiſing from "their dread abode" every black and curſed deed, hold them up as examples to vice, and transfer the guilt upon themſelves.

* Voltaire.

Let

Let us take a view (it ſhall be very tranſitory) of this man's inquiſition; who, like his brethren, alternately tortures and tempts confeſſion.

We cannot ſufficiently admire the laconic energy and truth of the following declaration:

> " National prejudices are illiberal and unjuſt."

But the conſiſtency of the writer who records this ſage apophthegm is paſſing excellent; for he immediately after makes the following *liberal* and *juſt* obſervation: " We never yet knew *one* perſon, born " and educated on the north of the Tweed, " whoſe habits and diſpoſition were not of " a ſordid caſt!" This reminds *us* alſo of a maxim, not leſs true than the foregoing:

> " The *ſlander* of ſome people is as great " a commendation as the *praiſe* of " others."

Not forgetting this adage, nor the former, (as both are well adapted to the preſent ſubject) we ſhall proceed, and give a ſketch of the author's liberality, when ſpeaking of the *Duke of Montroſe* *:

" In this character, pride and meanneſs " are firmly united. Formal and diſtant, " ſometimes affable and pliant, where he " imagines his intereſt to conſiſt. The in- " ſidious ſmile on his face ſhould be a cau- " tion againſt the canker in his heart †."

* None of thoſe who have the honour to be perſonally acquainted with this character, need to be informed, that the author of this *baſe* deſcription could not have taken a more effectual method of diſcovering his indiſcriminate malevolence, than by calumniating this nobleman. Thoſe who are acquainted with the Preſident of *Scot's Hall*; thoſe who have travelled near *Buchannan Houſe* in Scotland, and particularly ſuch as have reſided or called at that manſion, will ſpurn at this lying repreſentation. Impartial in his opinions, condeſcending in his manners, hoſpitable, benevolent, and ſincere, the *Duke of Montroſe* is well known, and not leſs beloved. His character will not be injured by ſlander; nor need it receive any additional luſtre from panegyric.

† Part II. p. 27.

This

This phyſiognomiſt, this learned calculator of nativities, gives us another ſpecimen of his art, when ſpeaking of the *Earl of Groſvenor*:

" In tracing the lineaments of his Lord-
" ſhip's countenance, we behold the faith-
" ful index of a ſordid vicious mind *."

Keen glances of cenſure, generally proceed from a temper dark and involved, like flaſhes of lightning from a gloomy ſky. The minds of ſome men are never ſo much diſturbed, as when Kings and Miniſters occupy their thoughts. At ſuch ſeaſons, fogs and miſts ariſe, and involve in impenetrable darkneſs all " moral and political virtue."

What does the man mean—or rather, does he know himſelf, who, when ſpeaking of the Britiſh Monarch, deſervedly the delight of all his ſubjects, breaks out into the following incoherent jargon. In arraigning his Majeſty's temperance, he ſays,

* Part I. page 26.

" *They*

" *They will tell you*, it is a neceſſary ob-
" ligation, impoſed by — — — —
" — — — — — — — —
" which precludes all indulgence in intem-
" perate exceſſes; and as to his chaſtity,
" *they pretend*," (whoever *they* are, our author makes *one*, we preſume) " that it
" exiſts — — — — — — and
" that once in particular, during the —
" — — — — — — broke out
" with ungovernable violence, and that
" — — — — — — — —
" and imperial virgin, &c. &c,"

If more be wanting, more may be found. So ſaid *Dr. Johnſon*, when haranguing on a pudding; and ſo we may truly ſay when ſpeaking of this hodgepodge.

Not contented with abuſing the King in his public and private * capacities, this aſ-
ſaſſin

* Speaking of his Majeſty, after his recovery from the illneſs with which he was afflicted, this writer inſolently and baſely affirms, that " the *firſt* act of ex-
" ecutive power, was, ſentence of death on the num-
berleſs

aſſin of characters, to complete his work, includes both ſoul and body, and baſely inſinuates that the amiable example, and uniform piety, of his Majeſty, are all hypocriſy.

" As for his piety *, it is malignantly " reported to conſiſt more in ſhew than " in practice †."

Who is the malignant dæmon that reports this? Whoever read it or heard it,

" berleſs wretches, who had been waiting many " months, &c." " The dreadful warrant of death " came down; no reſpite! no mitigation! no mercy! " No *diſtinction of crime*, no difference of puniſhment." To cloſe this deteſtable deſcription, he adds, " *If* " compaſſion had been reſident in the Royal breaſt, " this ſurely was an occaſion to bring it forth into " action!"

* The Chineſe boaſt of one of their Emperors, who governed, they ſay, iike Heaven; that is, by his example. And in ſpite of the infamous attempts of his ſlanderers, hiſtory will record ſuch another prince in the perſon of George III.

† Part III. page 61.

before

before the three volumes of ſcandalous *reports* were publiſhed, called the *Jockey Club*? This *Reporter*, in a note, has recorded another *report*, grounded on the ſame reſpectable authority—That

—" A certain great Prince carries his " caſh account to church with him, and " ſettles the debtor and creditor during the " time of ſermon *.

This great Prince, to his great ſlanderer, may apply the anſwer made by Diogenes to one of his enemies:

" No man will believe *you*, when you " ſpeak *ill of me*, any more than they would " *me*, if I were to ſpeak *well of you*."

Mr. *Pitt* is another remarkable perſonage, with reſpect to whom this judicial aſtrologer, after having aſſumed an ill-omened aſpect, breaks out into decl mations as well concerning things paſt, and preſent, as thoſe which are to come. Of Mr. *Pitt* he informs us, that

* Part III. page 61.

" When

" When borne triumphantly through " the ſtreets of London, by his credulous " and deluded countrymen,—while *they* " were indulging every ſanguine hope, " &c.—*he* was meditating *future* ſchemes " of perſonal ambition." And leſt we ſhould be left in the dark with reſpect to his *motives*, any more than to his then embryo *plans*, the *Prophet* informs us that theſe ſchemes were approved by Mr. *Pitt*, as " the moſt effectual method of inſuring to " himſelf the gifts of fortune."

Mr. *Pitt's* deſerved and inconteſtible popularity with the nation, is a fact, the reflection of which ſtings almoſt to madneſs the enemies of his adminiſtration.

Cool and collected, firm and perſevering, invulnerable to all the arrows of invective, to all the efforts of malignity, his fame increaſes in proportion to the baſe attempts which are daily practiſed to deſtroy his reputation.

The author of the *Jockey Club*, finding *words* insufficient to express his superlative ideas, breaks out into large capital *letters*, and dubs him,

"THE GRAND APOSTATE."

These volumes are full of wonders! We must not therefore be surprised how *that* man can be called an *Apostate*, concerning whom we are told by *prophecy*, that at the beginning of his career, he was "meditating future schemes of personal ambition;" and who, at this time, it is said by the same sublime authority, is actually realizing those very schemes! We have been used to conceive, that an individual professing one thing, and meaning another, may be an hypocrite; but how such an one can be called an *apostate*, is unknown to all except *The wise man* and the *prophet*.

Delaying for the present any remarks upon Lord *Thurlow*, in the horrid garb which this caricature represents him; or of the several other

other characters diſtorted and mangled in that work; we ſhall paſs on in ſearch of the delightful object—" moral and political " virtue."

But, before we leave the foul and diſmal road which we have laſt been traverſing, let us hearken to a ſtrain of our immortal bard:

" Good name in man and woman——
" Is the immediate jewel of their ſouls;
" Who ſteals my purſe, ſteals traſh; 'tis ſome-
" thing, nothing;
" 'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been ſlave to
" thouſands:
" But he that filches from me my good name,
" Robs me of that, which not enriches him,
" And makes me poor indeed. *

The philoſopher, who carried about his lanthorn to ſeek an honeſt man, was, it ſeems, to have broken it when the object of his ſearch was accompliſhed; but alas! it remained entire. It is wrong to anticipate evil; but it is much to be feared, that our

* Othello.

ſearch in theſe volumes will be attended with little better ſucceſs, if the object of our enquiry be *truth.*

Of the man, who profeſſes it to be his "avowed purpoſe to hold up the mirror of truth;" * which, in another place he aſſures us, "is the baſis of his work" †—who "diſclaims all perſonalities ‡!!"—who, good man, declares it to be his "principal care to maintain in all its purity the character of *ſtrict, impartial* juſtice, and who in no *one* inſtance *is* "conſcious of having departed from it!" ||—Of the man, who is neither "the ſlave of prejudice, or the dupe of error §;"—who proteſts that "the petty tales of ſcandal have *eſcaped* his notice;"—that he is not "actuated by malevolent motives;" **—of this man, who if he *ſeriouſly* ſays all this, we can only ſay, that his *teſtimony*, as well as his modeſty, may *ſometimes* be juſtly ſuſpected. The following ſyllogiſm will beſt explain our meaning:

* Part I. page 51. † Idem page 77. ‡ Idem page 65.
|| Idem p. 143. § Dedication, Part II. ** Ibid.

" National prejudices are illiberal and
" unjuſt:"

The man who ſays this, alſo affirms that—

" He has not in one inſtance departed
" from *ſtrict impartial juſtice*:"—

But the very ſame man has likewiſe ſaid, that

" He never yet knew one perſon,
" born and educated on the North
" ſide of the Tweed, whoſe habits
" and diſpoſitions were not of a ve-
" ry ſordid caſt!"—

Ergo
That Man.——

Q. E. D.

Variety would not be wanting, were we to purſue this ſubject, but we conceive it would be variety without pleaſure to dwell on the multitude of notorious falſehoods *

* " Who what he never ſaw proclaims for true,
" And vends for ſecrets what he never knew:
" Who blabs whate'er is whiſpered in his ear,
" And, fond of talk, does all he knows declare:
" That man's a wretch---of HIM, beſure, beware.
Creech Imit. Hor.

with

with which this work in queſtion ſo uniformly abounds. One more inſtance, therefore, ſhall rid us of the diſagreeable taſk "*we have impoſed upon ourſelves*," with reſpect to the fruitleſs ſearch in theſe volumes for "moral or political virtue." The author of this work ſays—

"He diſclaims all perſonalities,"
That "truth is the baſis of his work;"
But his work indiſputably is throughout
full of perſonalities:
Ergo
When he ſays he diſclaims them, he ſays
——— What you pleaſe but *truth*.

Such is the "moral tendency," ſuch "the ſtrict impartiality," which the author has the aſſurance to tell the world his ſlanderous volumes inculcate and maintain: whilſt decency, charity, and truth, are moſt foully, and moſt unmercifully outraged.

To make his work as ridiculous as it is infamous, he gravely pretends he could publiſh

publiſh accounts, compared to which, what he has already ſaid, " is perfect charity:" were he not " reſtrained (and we know not who can *reſtrain* laughing on hearing this *modeſt* motive from ſuch a writer)—" by " motives of delicacy towards the ſex!!!"

But as this penitent gentleman appears ſo miſerably deficient in the method of " expiating" his " innumerable follies and extravagances," we recommend him to ſtudy the letter and ſpirit of a verſe in Mr. *Pope*'s Univerſal Prayer. Concerning the latter part of which, however, we will for the preſent excuſe him; for we do not deſire him to anticipate his own puniſhment.

" Teach me to feel another's woe,
" To HIDE the fault I ſee;
" That mercy I to other's ſhew,
" That mercy ſhew to me."

LAW.

LAW.

THE vindicatory ſanction of the Law, has ever been a tremendous ſubject in the contemplation of the men, who, conſcious of guilt, tremble at its pains and penalties. Stung by the reflection that juſtice, though ſometimes tardy, is always ſure; they perceive no avenue of eſcape from its vengeance but by its utter deſtruction.

Such is the radical cauſe of thoſe torrents of abuſe which are poured on the laws of this country; where the excellence of the code, and the impartiality of the adminiſtration, (the imperfections of all human ſyſtems conſidered) are deſervedly the admiration of the world.

Preſcription has ever been conſidered by wiſe and ſober men as a ſecond law of nature; concerning which, direct or indirect, every

every attempt to annihilate our reſpect is an act of treaſon againſt the Social Compact. Sir William Temple, on the ſubject of *popular diſcontents*, makes the following obſervation:

" The *firſt* ſafety of Princes and States " lies in avoiding all *councils* or *deſigns of* " *innovation*, in ancient and eſtabliſhed *forms* " and *laws*; and thereby leaving the chan- " nel of *known* and *common juſtice* clear and " undiſturbed."

The time is already come, when this firſt concern of Princes and of States, when theſe ſubjects of law and ancient uſage, hitherto held ſacred, are now attempted to be overthrown; not through the heat of a prevailing faction, not through the madneſs of momentary enthuſiaſm, but by cool and artful, and ſophiſticated reaſonings, by Utopian plans, by ſpecious inſinuations, and by practices the moſt illegal.

The authors of the inflammatory publications now in circulation, are all acting in

furious competition for notoriety. Of theſe, *Thomas Paine*, and the author of the *Jockey Club*, determined to be the moſt remarkable, have ſo far ſucceeded by being the moſt daring. Both of theſe promulgators of *political virtue* inculcate the ſame excellent principles of ſubordination; and agreeing in their doctrines, do not always vary in their happy choice even of words. An inſtance of this follows:

> " Inſtead of referring to *muſty records*,
> " and *mouldy parchments*, to prove
> " that the rights of the living are
> " loſt——*M. de la Fayette.* * &c."

" Can it be imagined that if the exam-
" ple proſpers, (of *France*) that England
" will long continue her reverence to the
" *antiquity of muſty parchments*, or to the
" virtues of buried anceſtors?" † Theſe paſſages require no comment; no intention can be more plain, no language more intelligible.

* *Paine's* Rights of Man, p. 5, ſix-penny edition.
† *Jockey Club*, Part III. p. 167.

In

In this their patriotic work, theſe two gentlemen have made a kind of diviſion. *Thomas Paine*, not ſo much regarding *perſons*, undertakes to attack *principles*; runs back through whole centuries, overturning all in his career, till he finds out old *Adam*; and ſays, we muſt there begin to fix our authorities, and from him to draw our precedents! The author of the *Jockey Club*, falls foul on perſons, ſcouts heraldry, declaims in favour of equality, and imagines he has excelled all his competitors, by telling us that ſome noblemen are very wicked; that his pamphlets have an "extraordinary ſale," and that he will never ceaſe to "impoſe on himſelf" the taſk of finding out more ſinners!

"Tell truth, and ſhame the devil," ſays *Earl Percy* to *Owen Glendower*; but there are men to be found, who when *Law* is the ſubject, imagine their fame will increaſe in proportion to the falſehoods they utter concerning it. The writer in queſtion, when this theme occupies his thoughs, is always uncommonly agitated, and breaks

out into expreſſions, in which ſuffer violence, every principle of candour, and all regard to truth.

Such is the more than ordinary paſſion into which the author is precipitated, when, with ſavage fury, he drags to his tribunal the Lord, late Chancellor, *Thurlow*.

In his arraignment of this character, the lunatic raves and grinds his teeth in a moſt frightful faſhion. We muſt not therefore wonder, that if what he ſays ſhould be deſtitute both of truth and conſiſtency. "To what cauſe," he aſks, "are we to "trace his ſurpriſing elevation? To his "capacity and extraordinary acquirements? "No; for, ſpite of vulgar opinion, they are "very confined." Where is the man, who having a character to loſe, would utter ſuch an aſſertion, when the fact is notorious, that upon the foundation of his great natural capacity and extraordinary acquiſitions, is built the elevation of the man, who had dwelt in obſcurity to this day, but for thoſe talents which before

were never diſputed: and who was appointed one of the *King's Council*, and afterwards *Solicitor General*, purely on account of his merit, when all the official departments of the law were filled by men of known abilities, and of eſtabliſhed reputation. For the ſame reaſons was this great lawyer appointed *Attorney General*, and afterwards promoted to the *Seals*; a ſituation to which no man was better entitled; from a perſeverance in ſtudy ſo uncommon, as to inſpire in his cotemporaries a prediction of his ſubſequent advancement; and in the diſcharge of this high office, from his attention, regularity, firmneſs and conſcientiouſneſs.

A ſtrong preſumption in favour of any report is drawn from its conſiſtency. And never was there in this view a more wretched eſſay preſented to the public than that of our author, who deſcribes that character as "cringing and abject," which he immediately after calls "arrogant and over-"bearing," "ferocious," and "*never* "*yielding*."

Of

Of the unqualified abuſe and baſe falſehoods which fill up the reſt of his declamation, which is the *ne plus ultra* of all inſolence, it would be abſurd to attempt a refutation.—" His decrees (Lord *Thurlow*'s) " are ever fatal to the wretched. In every " point of view that he can be ſurveyed, " we ſurvey a monſter. His politics are " TYRANNY; his law, CAPTIVITY " and DEATH."

What raving is this! A cell in Bedlam rather than in a priſon, it ſhould ſeem, would be a more proper receptacle for the men who are thus poſſeſſed of the *Evil Spirit.*

It is ſtill in the remembrance of ſome, that when Mr. *Thurlow* entered upon his office of Attorney-General, an univerſal panic ſeized the fraternity of authors, printers, and publiſhers; and the vigour with which he called into exerciſe the wholeſome proviſions of the law, againſt libellous publications, much intimidated the *patriotic* heroes of the quill. Fearful of

conſequences

conſequences, the author of the *Jockey Club*, no doubt for ſimilar reaſons, (for the laws are ſtill the ſame, nor is the energy of their adminiſtration enervated) is taken with a terrible tremor, when he meets the piercing eyes, and views the maſculine viſage, of Lord Thurlow.

Others of the Judges who (to this day) preſide in our courts of law, are by this writer dragged forth to public view in a like indecent manner. But the paroxyſm of his rage ſeems a little abated when ſpeaking of theſe characters. The ſame contempt however of the laws and magiſtrates of his country never forſakes him: and it appears as if his ſole motive in the introduction of theſe great law characters, was to find an opportunity of libelling the whole code of Engliſh juriſprudence. Barriſters, and Attorneys, and every part of the profeſſion, has he repreſented in the moſt odious colours: the Judges are reminded that their predeceſſors have "trembled on the bench, "through dread of popular vengeance:" he tells us, that "in all countries the infamy

infamy of lawyers is proverbial, and that as during many centuries this country was *prieſt-ridden*; now it is under the government of *legal tyrants*."

Of Mr. *Erſkine*, we are told, that " his " chief profeſſional merit conſiſts in the art " of *playing* on the paſſions." A very curious kind of play certainly; but we preſume there would be ſomething more than *play*, if that gentleman ſhould be concerned in a proſecution againſt this writer, who never himſelf uſing fair play, might provoke from others what he would be apt to call very foul.

Mr. *Garrow*, another gentleman who has ariſen to eminence in his profeſſion, through the ſole influence of his talents and application, is called in this publication " a conceited, *ignorant* upſtart." If the public opinion accorded with this repreſentation, in vain might this gentleman hope for any employment in his profeſſion, as his " *ig-* " *norance*" might be the ruin of his client: but if the public are of a contrary opinion, (which

(which they certainly are, as appears from his great practice,) then cannot the excellence of our laws be better exemplified, than by convincing the author of the libel, that in this country no man's profeſſional character can be attacked with impunity.

Impriſonment for debt is one of the ſubjects on which the author appears as if he never could ſay enough. With an uncommon affectation of humanity he becomes the advocate of inſolvents, and condemns "the cruelty of their confinement," "for not paying their juſt debts, *becauſe* "they have not the means of ſettling "them!"

No benevolent man will refuſe his ſympathy to the unfortunate tradeſman, whoſe misfortunes have precipitated him into a place of confinement, where his ſituation precludes the poſſibility of his recovering from his degraded condition. But certainly ſome regard muſt be had to original contracts—ſome juſtice be allowed to creditors, and a few of thoſe conſiderations muſt be

admitted in this queſtion, which the nature of all commercial concerns naturally ſuggeſt.

Another plea in favour of debtors comes from this writer with *ſingular* propriety.—Alluding to the abridgement of the rules of the King's Bench, he ſays,

> " It was an act of flagrant injuſtice,
> " inaſmuch as it deprived the
> " wretched priſoner of indulgences
> " which he had purchaſed at an
> " exorbitant rate, under the ſanc-
> " tion of immemorial cuſtom."

Sacred immemorial cuſtom!—rooted in experience!—the wiſdom of ages! Thou extorteſt panegyric from the mouth of thine enemies, even when the tribute of juſt praiſe is moſt diſtant from their intentions!

Strange that ſuch reverence ſhould come from the man, whoſe outrageous, but impotent, publications are intended to undermine all immemorial cuſtom, whoſe ſneers

are directed againſt " virtues of buried an-
" ceſtors," from whom originated our mu-
nicipal laws, and whoſe ſeditious firebrands
are ready lighted to conſume the ancient
records, and all ſuch " *muſty parchments*"
of the realm.

The multitude of incoherent declama-
tions which are found in the *Jockey Club*,
reſpecting the theory and practice of our
laws, only differ in words; nor always
granted to us is even that indulgence. Theſe
" abominations,"—" this fathomleſs abyſs"
that baffles " the utmoſt penetration of
human wiſdom:"—this " incomprehen-
ſible ſcience,"—this " myſterious perplex-
" ity"—this " vaſt maſs of writings;"
that makes the poor gentleman " ſhud-
" der;" and all theſe tremendous things
appear nevertheleſs to be—What?—the ge-
nuine offspring of that ſpirit of equal li-
berty, which is the ſingular felicity of En-
gliſhmen.

Blackſtone was of this opinion; and
of theſe two learned gentlemen, who have

favoured us with the ſubſtance of their reſearches concerning Engliſh juriſprudence, we hope no offence; but we muſt rather attend to the latter; and that notwithſtanding he was then actually under the *ſad* imputation of being SOLICITOR GENERAL TO HER MAJESTY!

It is not with the leaſt expectation of convincing the man who "miſtakes variety "for confuſion, and complicated caſes for contradictory," that we notice this common complaint againſt the laws of this country; but it is due to the ſubject itſelf that the fact be fairly ſtated. Let *Blackſtone*, therefore, give *his* opinion.

"Some delays there certainly are, and muſt unavoidably be, in the conduct of a ſuit, however deſirous the parties and their agents may be to come to a ſpeedy determination. Theſe ariſe from the ſame original cauſes as were mentioned in examining a former complaint; * from *liberty*, *property*, *civility*, *commerce*, and an extent of po-

* Commentaries Vol. III. p. 327, and 423.

pulous

pulous territory; which, whenever we are willing to exchange for tyranny, poverty, barbariſm, idleneſs, and a barren deſert, we may then enjoy the ſame diſpatch of cauſes that is ſo highly extolled in ſome foreign countries."

"The cauſes, therefore, of the multiplicity of the Engliſh laws, are, the extent of the country which they govern; the commerce and refinement of its inhabitants; but, above all, the *liberty* and *property* of the ſubject. Theſe will naturally produce an infinite fund of diſputes, which muſt be terminated in a judicial way: and it is eſſential to a free people, that theſe determinations be publiſhed and adhered to; that their property may be as certain and fixed as the very conſtitution of their ſtate."

"Hence a multitude of deciſions, or caſes adjudged, will ariſe; for ſeldom will it happen that any one rule will exactly ſuit with many caſes. And in proportion as the deciſions of courts of judicature are multiplied,

plied, the law will be loaded with decrees." *

If the ſubject be conſidered in a *comparative* point of view, ſtill leſs reaſon ſhall we find to regard the unqualified abuſe which is poured on the Engliſh code of laws.

" In *Turkey*, ſays *Monteſquieu*, where little regard is ſhewn to the lives or fortunes of the ſubject, all caſes are quickly decided: the Baſha, on a ſummary hearing, orders which party he pleaſes to be baſtinadoed, and then ſends them about their buſineſs." †

" The *Romans*, when the people were little better than ſturdy ſhepherds, or herdſmen, had all their laws in the compaſs of ten or twelve tables: but as luxury, politeneſs, and dominion increaſed, the civil law increaſed in the ſame proportion, and ſwelled to that amazing bulk which it now occupies, though ſucceſſively pruned and retrenched by the Emperors *Theodoſius* and *Juſtinian*."

* Commentaries Vol. III. p. 327. † Ibid. 428.

" The

" The civil law, the text whereof, as collected by *Juſtinan* and his agents, is extremely voluminous and diffuſe; but the idle comments, obſcure gloſſes, and jarring interpretations grafted thereupon by the learned juriſts, are literally without number. And theſe gloſſes, which are mere private opinions of ſcholaſtic doctors, (and not like our books of reports, judicial determinations of the court,) are all of authority ſufficient to be vouched and relied on, which muſt needs breed great diſtraction and confuſion in their tribunals."

" Of the Canon law the ſame might be ſaid, though the text thereof is not of half the antiquity with the Common Law of England; and though the more ancient any ſyſtem of law is, the more it is liable to be perplexed with the multitude of judicial decrees. When therefore a body of laws, of ſo high antiquity as the Engliſh, is in general ſo clear and perſpicuous, it argues deep wiſdom and foreſight in ſuch as laid the foundation, and great care and circumſpection

ſpection in ſuch as have built the ſuper-ſtructure."

To little purpoſe, therefore, do they bring us " the examples of arbitrary governments, as Denmark, Muſcovy, and Pruſſia; of wild and uncultivated nations, the ſavages of Africa and America, or of narrow domeſtic republics in ancient Greece and modern Switzerland; and unreaſonably require the ſame paucity of laws, the ſame conciſeneſs of practice, in a nation of free men, a polite and commercial people, and a populous extent of territory." *

Partial repreſentations are the common ſubterfuges of prejudice. Thus the author of the *Jockey Club*, after an enumeration of ſome abuſes which may have attended the adminiſtration of juſtice, arguing from particulars, makes the following general concluſion; " beauties like theſe, in a code of " law, certainly are entitled to a lawyer's " panegyric."

* Comm. Vol. III. p. 326, and 328.

By

By theſe practices of men who endeavour to deprive the " magiſtrate of his reſpect, and the laws of their authority," people are led into reflections, which in their minds never before exiſted; and ſhould they ſuffer ſuch impreſſions to ſubſide, without enquiring into the truth of the repreſentations which produced them, nothing would remain but diſguſt, of which were they interrogated, they could give no ſatisfactory account, and prejudices againſt the law and the magiſtrate, which would ſoon grow into an hatred of the one, and contempt of the other.

Such is the expeditious mode by which men are graduated in the ſchool of faction; and through the influence of ſuch tranſient impreſſions, do they profeſs themſelves advocates for reform. Let us then caſt a retroſpective glance on the laws which are ſaid to be ſo horrible, on this " theory of abominations."

It is ſaid by a celebrated foreigner, * that this country is a land, perhaps the only one in the univerſe, in which political and civil liberty is the very end and ſcope of the conſtitution. Arguments are not wanting to demonſtrate the truth of this poſition, and there is no individual that can be ignorant of theſe arguments, who will impartially ſtudy the laws of this country, which Sir *Edward Coke*, when ſpeaking of the theory, calls "the abſolute perfection of reaſon."

The Common Law of this Realm was properly denominated by *William* the Conqueror, "*bonæ approbatæ antiquæ regni leges*;" † as their origin may be traced back to the time when the hiſtory of this country is involved in impenetrable obſcurity.

Many ancient writers ſpeak of certain cuſtoms and decrees which were held in reverence even in the time of the *Druids*. *Cæſar* treats largely on this ſubject: and

* Monteſquieu. † Coke's Inſt.

another

another hiſtorian ſays, " *Britannia ſuis Le-*
" *gibus uſa eſt.*" Sir *John Forteſcue* ſup-
poſes that many of our laws had their ori-
gin from the *Druids*, notwithſtanding the
variety of people which at different times
inhabited this iſland; obſerving, that the
Romans, Saxons, Danes, or Normans would
have altered them, had they not been
remarkable for their reaſon and equity, eſ-
pecially the Romans, who gave laws almoſt
to all the world.

The different cuſtoms and decrees pecu-
liar to many of theſe nations, which were
introduced at the time they ſeverally reſided
in this country, conſiderably enriched the in-
fant code. Our Engliſh *Juſtinian*, *Edward*
the Confeſſor, ſelecting out of theſe inſtitu-
tions the moſt valuable, reduced them into
one body, called the *Common Law*. *

The

* *Hoveden*, and the author of an old MS. Chroni-
cle, aſſures us that the work was projected, and be-
gun by his Grandfather King Edgar.

Both theſe undertakings ſeem to be no more than a
new edition, or freſh promulgation, of *Alfred*'s code
or Doom-book, with ſuch additions and improve-
ments

The Norman Conqueror, after this, cauſed a review to be made of theſe laws, and rejecting ſome, added to the reſt certain ordinances of his native country.

But the *antiquity* of Engliſh juriſprudence is its ſmalleſt recommendation: — its intrinſic *excellence* is of much greater importance *, and not leſs certain.

The Common Laws of England are grounded upon the law of God, and extend themſelves to the original law of nature, and the univerſal law of nations. †

" Man, conſidered as a creature, muſt neceſſarily be ſubject to the laws of his Creator, for he is entirely a dependent being; but a ſtate of dependence will inevitably oblige the inferior to take the will of him on whom he depends as the rule of his conduct, in all thoſe points wherein his dependence conſiſts; and conſequently as man

ments as the experience of a century and a half had ſuggeſted. * Commentaries, Vol. I. Introd.

† Lord Elleſmere.

depends

depends abſolutely upon his Maker for every thing, it is neceſſary that he ſhould in all points conform to his Maker's will: and this will of his Maker is called the *law of nature*.

" This law of nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himſelf, is of courſe ſuperior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times.

" In order to apply this to the particular exigencies of each individual, it is neceſſary to have recourſe to reaſon; but the reaſon of man is corrupt, and his underſtanding full of ignorance and error." Hence ariſes the neceſſity for " the benign interpoſition of divine providence; which, in compaſſion of the frailty, the imperfection, and the blindneſs of human reaſon, has been pleaſed to diſcover and enforce its laws by an immediate and direct *revelation*. The doctrines thus delivered are called the revealed or divine law, and are to be found in the holy ſcriptures. And if men were to live in a

ſtate

ſtate of nature, unconected with other individuals, there would exiſt no occaſion for any other laws, than the *law of nature*, and the *law of God*.

" But man was formed for ſociety; he is incapable of living alone, nor indeed has he the courage to do it: and as it is impoſſible for the whole race of mankind to be united in one great ſociety, they muſt neceſſarily divide into many, and form ſeparate ſtates, commonwealths, and nations, entirely independent of each other, and yet liable to a mutual intercourſe. Hence ariſes a third kind of law, called the *law of nations*." *

Such is the ground-work of a code of laws, in which antiquity, wiſdom, and juſtice, are equally conſpicuous.

But we are told that the executive magiſtrate " may commit all the iniquity and " barbariſm that can ſtain the character of " human nature †, and that under the ſanc-

* Commentaries, Intro. Sect. II. † Jockey Club, Part II. page 154.

" tion

" tion of the laws." This aſſertion is of a piece with many more of this author. We have been hitherto taught, that in criminal laws, the puniſhment is derived from the particular nature of the crime; and not from the caprice of the judiciary power, but from the very nature of the thing expreſſed in the code.

Mr. *Locke* treats this ſubject in the following manner:

> " Whoever has the legiſlative power
> " in any commonwealth, is bound
> " to govern by *eſtabliſhed ſtanding*
> " *laws*, promulgated and *known* to
> " the people, and not by extem-
> " porary decrees; but by Judges,
> " who are to decide controverſies
> " by thoſe laws."

When we are told, therefore, that " under the ſanction of the laws, may be " committed all the iniquities and barba- " riſm that can ſtain the character of hu- " man nature;" it is no doubt intended for

us to underſtand that the code itſelf is a ſyſtem of iniquity and barbariſm. Theſe aſperſions may meet their puniſhment, but are in every point of view beneath replication.

Of the Statute Law of this realm, no greater encomium can be beſtowed upon it, than what is contained in its definition.

" The Statutes are either *declaratory* of the common law, or *remedial* of ſome defects therein."

Every objection, therefore, that is urged againſt the ſtatute law, with regard to its multifarious nature, is a compliment paid to its excellence. In proportion to the wants and refinements of men, to the lapſe of time, and the fluctuation of things, will be the neceſſity of emendations and additions, with regard to the laws not only of this, but of every well-regulated community.

The

The country that preſcribes this polity, commands our admiration; the legiſlators who enforce it, our reſpect and gratitude. And ſo far from being an evil, we conſider it as a bleſſing, in which wiſdom and virtue are equally conſpicuous.

We regard theſe huge folios as the legacies of our anceſtors, and agree with Lord *Bacon*, that our laws being as mixed as our language; as our language is ſo much the richer, the laws are the more complete.

LIBELS.

THE Romans made an ordinance, that any Poet who ſhould compoſe verſes to the *injury* and *ſcandal* of their lives and reputation, ſhould be puniſhed with death.

The Engliſh have likewiſe laws for the protection of their lives and reputation, which, if not of the ſanguinary nature of the Roman Inſtitutes, are ſufficiently vindicatory to prevent any attempt on our good name to paſs with impunity.

Libels, * in the laws of this country, are thus defined: "They are malicious

* "But if the libel is only againſt a private perſon, "yet it deſerveth ſevere puniſhment; for albeit the "libel be againſt one, yet it *inciteth* all thoſe of the "ſame family *to revenge*, and ſo tendeth by conſe- "quence to quarrels, and breach of the peace, and "may be the cauſe of effuſion of blood, and of great

"defamations

" defamations of any perſon, and *eſpecially*
" *of a magiſtrate*, made public by printing,
" writing, ſigns, or pictures, in order to
" provoke him to wrath, or *expoſe him to*
" *public hatred, contempt, and ridicule.* *

This definition may ſerve as an anſwer to the queſtion, " In what does a libel conſiſt?" A queſtion which the author of the Jockey Club having propoſed, † neither anſwers, nor does he appear to have been capable, for he inſtantly begins to rave about, " the vile intereſted jargon of " lawyers:" to call by foul and hard names the man who juſtly threatens him with proſecution; to anticipate the favour of the " Engliſh Jury" which may try him; and to complain bitterly of the diſingenuity of " tormenting *him* with proſecutions, who " is endeavouring to inculcate the principles

" inconvenience. But if it be againſt a *Magiſtrate*,
" or other public perſon, it is a *greater* offence, for
" it concerneth not only the breach of the peace, but
" the *ſcandal of government*."

5 Co. 125.

* Blackſt. Comm. Wood, 63, c. 3. † Part II. p. 83.

" of moral and political virtue." After this, being taken of a ſudden with a penitent fit, on account of " his innume-" rable follies and extravagances," he tells his countrymen, that if the law can be the inſtrument of puniſhing an advocate for virtue, it is time for them all to run away! A piece of generalſhip long before this recommended in the Adventures of Sir *Hudibras*.

Our author, however, kindly promiſes for himſelf, to try the event, before he leaves us in the forlorn condition to lament the want of ſuch an able advocate for all moral and political virtue. " Should ne-" ceſſity demand it, the real author will " voluntarily and chearfully come for-" ward, and throw himſelf on the juſtice " of his countrymen." And except *that* juſtice ſlumbers, it is more than probable this writer may very ſhortly find himſelf under the neceſſity which he ſo readily anticipates; for there are paſſages in his work which would almoſt rouſe its vengeance from the ſleep of death.

In turning over theſe volumes, it is ſcarcely poſſible to follow in any order the daring libels which they contain; libels not leſs notorious for their magnitude, than for their number.

In his compariſon between *Louis* XVI. and *George* III. the author is guilty of the moſt ſcandalous reflections againſt both theſe Sovereigns. But while he baſely inſults the French Monarch,

"*Torn* from his high eſtate,"

And uncertain every hour but that at *the next* he may be "welt'ring in his blood," the regicide, in the ecſtaſy of his malignant and inhuman delight, ſeems to have forgotten that the Britiſh Monarch is not impriſoned; and that he never will be, except, indeed, the Almighty in his wrath ſhould deliver up this country to the mercileſs depredations of an hoſt of out-lawed and abandoned miſcreants, in whoſe ſight a King would be conſidered worthy of nothing but death and loyalty of execration.

The

The Britiſh Monarch enthroned in the hearts of his people, has his thouſands, and his tens of thouſands of loyal ſubjects who are all true Engliſhmen; who will never ſuffer to be violated that conſtitution which, (maugre the ſcorn of the Jacobin crew,) they will ſtill call *excellent*, and which they will ſtill ſupport.

The Britiſh Monarch has not to fear the avowed combination of aſſaſſins, who threaten the life of every King in Europe. They know too well the bravery of Engliſhmen, who, if ſuch an infernal attempt were made, would let fall their vengeance on the miſcreant perpetrators; and chace the conſpirators from pole to pole, till they had rid the world of that infamous and accurſed combination.

We are juſtified in imputing the worſt of motives to the conduct of that man, who is ſufficiently baſe to trample on the unfortunate and helpleſs object who has not the power of replication.

Had

Had the French King been obliged to conſider all political ſpeculations in no other view than that in which they were propounded to him, he muſt have been a ſlave, and ſubject to the worſt of all bondage.—What would then have become of the "Rights of Man?" of his beſt and moſt valuable rights, freedom of thought, and liberty of action? It is out of the queſtion, whether prejudice or intereſt, or both, influenced his deciſions:—(whoſe deciſions are free from ſuch influence?) the enquiry is, was he, or was he not, at liberty to decide? If it be anſwered in the negative, ſuch an anſwer involves in it the vileſt tyranny: if in the affirmative, the moſt monſtrous and notorious facts will demonſtrate the falſity of the aſſertion.

Had the French King no individual right of judging in this concern as well as his ſubjects? Had he no intereſt in the buſineſs, or does his misfortune of being born to a crown make him an outlaw of nature?

"But,"

" But," it has been ſaid, " he was at " liberty to abdicate the throne." Generous indulgence! admirable alternative! This aſtuteneſs was reſerved for the enlightened period of the 18th century, in which an act of forcible deprivation is juſtified on the ground, that if the ſufferer be diſcontented, he may, by relinquiſhing his rights, readily be eaſed of his ſcruples!

Had the French King even done this, it would have ſubjected him to a train of evils greater perhaps than thoſe he has already ſuffered. Not to ſpeak of miracles, which alone could have ſaved him from an incenſed multitude, the light in which he would have been conſidered, and the treatment he would have received throughout Europe, muſt have been to him worſe than death.

What then could he do, but avail himſelf of a doctrine, the orthodoxy of which was never before diſputed, that " a forced " conſent is never binding." It is ſtrangely paradoxical, that people, whoſe plea for overturning, with a wirlwind of fury, all ancient

cient conſtitutions, is decorated with the name of *Liberty*; ſhould themſelves think no puniſhment too great for the man, whoſe only crime appears to be a firm endeavour to ſupport his own individual freedom!

The unfortunate Monarch being precipitated into this critical ſituation, and then enſnared by the ſeizure of all his papers, is held up to the world as a man "not fit to live." Such is the language of the author of the *Jockey Club*, who, in addition to this, deſcribes him as one, upon whom was loſt "all the unmerited confidence and magna-"nimity that he experienced,—of ſyſte-"matic treachery and ingratitude,—guilty "of *horrible deſigns*, which he meditat-"ed againſt his ſubjects—whoſe facts "were in eternal contradiction with his "profeſſions; and who never ceaſed to act "a double jeſuitical part, * adopting every

* This abuſe of a helpleſs character, who is precluded from any reply to the calumny, and from the power of avenging the inſolence of the author, is one proof among many to be found in the works of this advocate,

" ſtratagem his infernal ſatellites could de-
" viſe to vilify and *overthrow the conſtitu-*
" *tion*, under the inſidious pretence of de-
" fending it."

Such are the deſcriptions of a *character*, concerning which the author dares to affirm there is, in the King of England, " *a ſtrik-*
" *ing reſemblance.*" When he *boldly* " comes
" forward to throw himſelf on the *juſtice*
" of his countrymen ;" they will give him an opportunity of being practically acquainted with that *juſtice* he ſo much admires in theory. They will not ſuffer libels, ſedition, and treaſon to go unpuniſhed. They will not ſuffer to paſs with impunity the daring and outrageous malevolence of the man, who after painting in the

advocate, " for all moral and political virtue," of the *ſingular* propriety of his adopting the following motto :

" *Homo ſum, nihil humani a me alienum puto.*"

His own obſervation, when applied to himſelf, is a ſolitary inſtance " that he has in no reſpect whatever
" tranſgreſſed the bounds of truth ;" when he makes the amiable confeſſion, that " to attack the helpleſs
" and unfortunate, under any circumſtances, is baſe
" and inhuman."

blackeſt

blackeſt colours, *a character*, no where to be found but in his own black imagination, and after giving it a name, compares it with the Britiſh Monarch, and utters the deteſtable falſehood that there is between them " a general ſimilitude."

At the beginning of this odious and unjuſt compariſon, he ſets out with the following indecent obſervation reſpecting the two Monarchs of France and England; " this pair of *Royal Jockeys* have nearly run " the ſame race, with *equal advantage* to " their ſubjects."

There are three things contained in this declaration; an alluſion to their executive government—a reſemblance in the conduct of theſe two Princes—and the benefits which their ſubjects reſpectively derive from each. The evident intention of all which is, for the reader to conſider every declaration reſpecting the former, as equally meant to include the latter. The conſequences of this compariſon are obvious; and there remains one ſubject which is not leſs ſo, the

deſerts of the writer, which, according to his own deſire, we ſhall leave to "the juſ-" tice of his countrymen." To aſſiſt them in the work, however, we have ſelected the following ſpecimens of his *loyalty*.

Speaking of *Louis* XVI. * he is ſaid to have been "unable to forſake that ſyſtem "of *treacherous policy* which he had adopt-"ed, and which by long and conſtant "practice was *rooted* in his character; flat-"tered and encouraged in the moſt *ſangui-"nary* projects by thoſe about him, who "would never ſuffer his weak unhappy "mind to reſt,—his *hypocriſy* revealed, "&c. &c.

THE COMPARISON. †

"There are in many inſtances a *ſtriking "reſemblance* in the *virtues* of theſe two "*Royal Jockeys*," who "have nearly run "the ſame race, with equal advantage to "their ſubjects."

* Part III. p. 27. † Part III. p. 16 and 23.

The

The character of *Louis* XVI. is in another place thus deſcribed:—" The King " a *perjured traitor*, convicted of violating " the oaths of allegiance he had ſworn to " the conſtitution, at once *abſolved the* " *people from every obligation of allegiance to* " *him.*" *

THE COMPARISON.

" There are in many inſtances a *ſtriking* " *reſemblance* in the *virtues* of theſe two " *Royal Jockeys*," who " have nearly run " *the ſame race*, with *equal advantage* to " their ſubjects."

Again; " Nations have long been diſ- " tracted by civil and foreign broils. The " vile intereſt of Princes cements the diſ- " cord, and the abuſed, unhappy people " ſuffer. The *crimes* of the Kings of France " have been faithfully tranſlated and pub- " liſhed in London."

* Pat III. p. 30.

THE

THE COMPARISON.

" Would the *crimes* of the Kings of " England appear leſs horrible, or would " the hiſtory of the preſent reign caſt a " light on the ſhade, &c. &c.—When we " reflect that the preſent military eſtabliſh- " ments in India, founded on *tyranny* and " *uſurpation*, promiſe no leſs ſiniſter ef- " fects, as the plan is equally impolitic, " barbarous, and unjuſt."

Monſtrum horrendum ! If all this be true, what will become of us ?

It would be a diſmal and endleſs taſk to follow this madman over hill and through the dale, ſcattering as he paſſes on " fire- " brands, arrows, and death." It would be equally fruitleſs the attempt to ſtop him in his career, and to tender to him reaſon, while this *melange* affects his brain. As nothing in his view is too bad for the compariſon, neither is one language ſufficient for

the purpoſe of defamation. When ſpeaking of royalty, he gives us in a note, another inſtance of his modeſty, and "ſtrict impartiality." "The word *Brigand*, (Robber) ſeems particularly applicable to Royalty, and Kings may be reckoned

"LES CHEFS DES BRIGANDS." *

It might have been expected that this writer, after glutting himſelf with the detail of ſo many *outré* tales, which he has raked together concerning the *Queen of France*, (*juſqu'à l'exces,*) would for the ſake of a little novelty, have found an occaſion to beſtow a little praiſe, eſpecially when to his ſelf-erected tribunal he drags from her domeſtic quiet the Queen of England. Vain expectation!

"Fair names, which at the early morn
"Their ſnow-white leaves may ſpread;
"By curſed ſlander's with'ring blaſt,
"Ere night are ſtricken dead.

* Prat III. p. 26.

Of

Of this perſonage, the country which gave her birth, and even her very *virtues*, are made the ſubject of contempt and ridicule. He, who immediately before had been execrating, becauſe ſhe intermeddled with ſtate affairs, one Princeſs; according to his uſual liberality, fails not of imputing to to the other, though of a conduct uniformly mild and irreproachable, the worſt of motives. To counterbalance the mortification of acknowledging the fact, he ſays, "It is only of late that ſhe (the Queen of "England) has ſhone any way conſpicuous "in a ſovereign character. Many years "ſhe remained altogether behind the cur-"tain, it being long univerſally imagined "that her cares were ſolely devoted to her "nurſery, and her popularity with the na-"tion was derived from an amiable mo-"deſty and diſintereſtedneſs, never med-"dling in public tranſactions; while there "are many who now ſcruple not to pro-"nounce, that ſhe was playing the deepeſt "game of HYPOCRISY, and that the "Royal George never decided on any

" meaſure, without having firſt deliberated " with the prudent and artful Charlotte."

" It was the regency buſineſs which " firſt brought her forth into the front of " action, where her real character was de- " veloped, and ſhone in its *native* colours. " In that dark hour, according to report, " the horrible fate that threatned her huſ- " band appeared a very—" (trifling I ſup- poſe he means) " conſideration; her grief " for him was abſorbed in the intereſt and " anxiety ſhe diſcovered to provide for her- " ſelf."

Sweet are the waters of ſcandal, but ſweeter far when tinged with the ore of miſrepreſentation.

Does the author of theſe paſſages deſire, that what he has uttered may be credited, or not? If he does, he is guilty of an infamous and ſcandalous libel; if he does not, his libel is ſtill more infamous, it being aggravated by wanton and baſe fabrications. Neither plea, however, can ſave

 him

him from the conſequences of this Eſſay towards "expoſing to public hatred, con- "tempt, and ridicule," an exalted character, not more known than reſpected.

The next ſubject that falls within our notice, is the conſtitution of this country. The offences of which this writer has been guilty, which, by our lawyers, are called "*miſpriſions*" againſt the King's *perſon* and *government*, in "giving out ſcandalous "ſtories concerning him," endeavouring to "weaken his government, and to raiſe "jealouſies between him and his people," we have already made out, together with the reſt of his crimes on that head.

In the contumely *then* under conſideration, we beheld a ſubject turned the aſſaſſin of his Prince, and aiming a mortal thruſt at his heart. We now ſee the traitor extending his infernal purpoſe, and attempting at the ſame time the deſtruction of his *King* * *and country*; a purpoſe which can-

* "A blind adherence to this fatal contumacy "has plunged France in the blood of its citizens, "and

cannot be miſtaken, which cannot be denied. To what other end are directed the furious declamations which are echoed from all quarters by the men whoſe avowed intentions are to "undermine a ſyſtem" founded on principles of which the wiſdom, the order, and the benefits, will never be ſlighted, will never be reſigned, till we become too ignorant to diſcriminate, or too unworthy to enjoy.

The following deſcriptions of our government and country are given to the world by the man whoſe pious purpoſe is to diſſeminate "all *political virtue*."

"There are as many crying and cruel "evils exiſting under the Engliſh, as under "the moſt deſpotic Governments of Eu-"rope*."

"The American war inflicted an addi-"tional burthen of *one hundred million* of

"and deprived Louis of the *only honourable crown in* "*Europe*." Jockey Club, Part III. p. 19.

* Part III. p. 125.

taxes

" taxes on the people of this country,
" while the conſtitution acquired a tower
" of ſtrength from its *murderous* policy.
" But the horrors of this ſyſtem are bound-
" leſs. To ſupport it, the moſt execrable
" engines are employed. A ruffian, arm-
" ed with the force of legal tyranny, at
" the dead hour of night, invades the
" ſanctuary of domeſtic quiet.—Liberty
" receives a mortal wound from the poi-
" ſoned arrows of exciſe; and all poſſible
" enormities, robberies, ſuicide, and mur-
" ders, are *encouraged* by means of lotte-
" ries, &c. Thus the people are invited,
" and driven, as it were, into crimes,
" which afterwards, as a grateful reward
" for having contributed to your *ſyſtem*,
" you puniſh with a halter.

" Is the miſerable farce of royalty, that
" political humbug, to be kept up under
" ſuch an infinity of diſcouraging exam-
" ples, to its preſent enormous magni-
" tude * ?

* Part II. p. 47.

" The

" The real dignity and intereſts of a " nation conſiſt in a ſyſtem the very re- " verſe of that which conſtitutes the ſpu- " rious* dignity of a crown †."

In this manner is the Government of our country held up to view. On ſuch paſſages as theſe, on ſuch wilful and malicious aſperſions, it would be uſeleſs, it

* " The *tenor* of a thing is the tranſcript and true " copy of it." 2 Salk. 417.

Of the great care which this writer *ſometimes* manifeſts to *guard* his inſinuations, we have only to ſay, he ſhould either have done it better, or not at all. The Public ſufficiently underſtand his meaning; indeed, it cannot be miſtaken.

On the ſubject of " immolating unhappy men," however, he generally forgets himſelf, and ſpeaks out ſufficiently " *broad*," for he calls it a " ſavage " practice—to the *vices* of Government." And if we are to believe what he ſays in another place, *then* it may be ſo: viz. " Of the poverty and vice, the " ignorance and inequality of condition, to be found " in the miſerable quarters of this city, the original " evil is in Government."

† Part II. p. 44.

would

would be folly, to make any comment. And if ſuch inſinuations, if ſuch practices, be ſuffered to paſs with impunity, then may the author find ſome who will credit what he ſays, when he tells us, " that " there prevails in England, at the pre- " ſent juncture, a degree of ſelfiſhneſs " and univerſal depravity, with an apathy " and indifference to public concerns, un- " exampled at any former period of its " hiſtory, or even by France herſelf, in " the meridian of her former deſpotiſm."

THE

THE SYSTEM.

" We have invariably exerted our *beſt* Abilities to
" undermine A SYSTEM ſo fatal to the Peace
" and general Happineſs of the World."
Jockey Club, Part I. p. 176.

" THE SYSTEM is erroneous."
Idem, Part I. p. 7.

" IF I ſhould undertake to ſay that there
" never was a good government in the
" world that did not conſiſt of the three
" ſimple ſpecies, of Monarchy, Ariſto-
" cracy, and Democracy, I think I might
" make it good*." This opinion of *Sidney* is the opinion of all the beſt writers on politics; and is found to be realized in

* Sidney on Government, Chap. II. § 16.

the

the Britiſh Conſtitution. The union of the three intereſts, which are equally concerned in the legiſlative power, is to the ſtate, what the ſpirit is to the body, its health and conſervation.

Againſt the repreſentative body is reiterated the charge of corruption. If we inquire how it appears, we find it to conſiſt in their being deaf to the clamours of the diſcontented and the factious (and ſuch are always to be found) and in their determined conduct to ſtrengthen the political fabric, which it is as much their ſolemn duty, as the national intereſt, to preſerve entire.

The body of the Nobles (and there are not to be found any juſt and ſolid reaſons why it ſhould not be ſo) is hereditary. It is ſo by preſcription; it is conſtitutionally ſo; and it is as much for the intereſt of this country, as it is for individuals, that it ſhould always continue the ſame. Call them by what you pleaſe, by their titles

or their names, always will there be in a ſtate, men diſtinguiſhed by their birth, their riches, or their honours, all of which are ſure to be obnoxious to thoſe who are diſtinguiſhed by neither. Theſe being in every ſtate, without compariſon, the majority, would not fail to overpower that body, that in rank being ſo much above themſelves, is an incitement to envy; and in numbers being ſo much leſs, would provoke rapacity. It is therefore eſſential to liberty, that the perſons and property of one claſs ſhould be alike protected with the other; and it is conſonant to reaſon, that the ordinances which have hitherto effected their purpoſe, ſhould continue to be adopted.

Of the executive power, when it is *ſaid*, it is literally *meant*, "That the King can "do no wrong*;" for in his political capa-

* "The *virtues* of theſe two Royal Jockeys, "which, ſuppoſing them to exiſt, and it might be "treaſon *on one ſide* to doubt it, are merely *nega-*

"*tive*,

capacity he has no arbitrary individual power to do any thing; he is conſtitutionally bound to act by the advice of his Miniſters, and according to the laws.

Monteſquieu ſomewhere ſays, whoever reads the admirable Treatiſe of *Tacitus*, *de moribus Germanorum*, will find that it is from them the Engliſh have borrowed the idea of their political government. This beautiful ſyſtem was firſt invented in the woods, and is the offspring of Nature.

In whatever point of view, therefore, may be conſidered the conſtitution of this country, it will be found ſtanding alone on a ground equally admirable and unparalelled, poſſeſſed of the excellences to be found in every other now in exiſtence, or which in times paſt has been adopted, with

" *tive*, no benefit from them having *ever reached their* " *ſubjects*, and for all poſſible injury effected by their " vices, they have *cartes blanches*, from the wiſe de- " cree eſtabliſhed in favour of their anceſtors, that " Kings can do no wrong."

Jockey Club, Part III. p. 17.

few

few of their defects, and none of their enormities. Founded on a charter of liberty, on which foreigners have dwelt with delight, on which they have written with admiration, and concerning which, before "this eventful period," there appeared but one opinion among the learned and the virtuous throughout the world.

To undermine *government*, it is now the faſhion to begin the attack on *governors*. Diſſecting not only their public adminiſtration, vilifying not only their reſponſible characters, but in a daſtardly manner, by *corrupting their domeſtics*, theſe men collect the private tales of their retirement, make out a catalogue of their frailties and errors, and publiſh it to the world. Is this patriotiſm? Is this the method to defend "all "moral and political virtue?" Of ſuch attempts, the commencement and the concluſion are in no reſpect more diſſimilar, than the books and their authors. The men who, under covert of expoſing the malpractices of gameſters, break out into flames of ſedition againſt their country,

leave untouched the evil they pretend to remedy, and accompliſh no other purpoſe but the diſplay of their real intentions, which muſt terminate in their own deſtruction.

Should an intelligent foreigner aſk the natural queſtion—how can it be accounted for, that a people victorious abroad, and happy at home, ſhould have amongſt them men who endeavour to undermine the government of a country in which they were born, in which they have been educated, by which they have been protected, and the excellency of which is diſputed by none but its own ſubjects? Is it not evident, that allowing the inquiry to come from an individual unacquainted with the depravity and perverſeneſs of ſome amongſt us, it would be difficult to make him believe, that all this uproar of words, this

——————— " Hubbub wild
" Of ſtunning ſounds, and voices all confus'd,"

is only occaſioned on account of ſome droſs which theſe political chymiſts have found

in the ſterling gold of our laws; or by the adventitious errors of ſome individuals who are appointed to adminiſter their proviſions, and to guard againſt their violation? Would he believe, that the noble ſuperſtructure, cemented by age, improved by the ſucceſſive and united wiſdom of thouſands, and which every year becomes more perfect, ſhould be attempted to be undermined becauſe its exterior is ſomewhat impaired and disfigured?

It is time for all true Engliſhmen to diſcard their little piques and jealouſies. It is time for them to conſider, that the people who introduced amongſt them their effeminate faſhions, may find it equally their intereſt to diſſeminate their diſorderly principles. We muſt remember, that if there be any thing in our Government which may admit of a reform, it is on account of the ſeditious writings and daring practices of its enemies, that we have not the immediate accompliſhment of our wiſhes. There is an old proverb ſomewhat to this purpoſe; "*Blacken, and then call him Devil.*"

" *vil.*" Such is the practice of men, who, for poſitive bleſſings, offer us in exchange their cobweb ſpeculations. But finding their purpoſe defeated by their endeavours to effect it, pitifully lament that " all par-" ties ſeem united !" And this union will be ſtrengthened in proportion to the attempts which are made againſt its conſervation.

The author of the *Jockey Club*, after the ſorrowful lament to which we have juſt referred, calls upon ſome to " diſdain ſuch " trammels :" but as he has not told us who it is, we may ſuppoſe him to mean any one who is *wiſe* enough to hear him. He ſeems to deſpair, however, of finding ſuch an one, and tells the unknown inviſible patriot, that " ſuch diffidence is no way " honourable to his character." That, " if the occaſion be neglected, neither " this age nor poſterity will have cauſe to " venerate his ſupineneſs. The mere ſin-" cerity of his wiſhes will not deſerve, " nor will he receive the panegyric of hiſ-" tory ; he will ſink into oblivion !"

Among

Among the ſubjects which this writer introduces, for the purpoſe of abuſing our magiſtrates, are the preſent Continental diſputes, and the late war with *America*. And if every other proof were wanting of the generoſity of the Engliſh nation, it can never be diſputed, after the remarkable proof which is given in relation to the preſent affairs of *France*. That country is ſufficiently humbled, without calling up to view her former perfidies, to ſtare her in the face. We ſcorn ſuch baſe retaliation. But if we ſhould reaſon *à poſteriori*, little doubt will remain what her conduct would have been were England in a like ſituation.

All the world is acquainted, not only with the part taken by the French againſt us in the American war, but anterior to that event; with the continual efforts made by this people, by their incroachments upon our ſettlements, and by every ſcheme and contrivance they could invent to effect a ſeparation betwixt the Engliſh and their American Colonies. That which they were

were incapable of accompliſhing by their proweſs, they attempted with better ſucceſs by their policy. This policy, of which ſo much has been ſaid, and ſo much is recorded, has uniformly conſiſted of perfidious intrigues, and diſingenuous and dark contrivances. Intrigues againſt a country which date their commencement at a time when, with that ſame country, they were negociating a treaty of peace. Contrivances by every means in their power to aſſiſt our enemies, while they were pretending the ſtricteſt neutrality with reſpect to our diſputes.

When men, therefore cry out againſt the expenditure of the blood and treaſure of the nation by the American war, let them conſider the radical cauſe of this expenditure. Let them remember the conſequences of perfidy; the judgement which has overtaken the people who were intent upon nothing ſo much as the deſtruction of their neighbours.

We

We repeat it again, we are not "*triumphing*" over them; nor is there an inſtance in hiſtory when we ever did. If a King of France has been our priſoner, he has been treated with urbanity, with generoſity, and with reſpect. And at this moment, when the inhabitants of France, by thouſands, are flocking to this country, they are received with hoſpitality, and ſubſcriptions are opened for their ſupport.

Notwithſtanding the barbarous outcry that is made againſt the Miniſter, the people in general are not without a proper ſenſe of the wiſdom and humanity which mark the conduct of adminiſtration in the preſent critical ſituation of Europe. The men who call themſelves patriots, begin to be underſtood; and the people are no longer deceived by wolves in ſheep's cloathing. Whilſt the virtue ſtill exiſts, and is to be found at what place the leaſt noiſe is made about it, the nation is no longer to be deluded with the mere *name*, however excellent the *reality*, of patriotiſm. It is a fine ſounding word, and was well enough

underſtood by *Wat Tyler*, *Jack Straw*, and their doughty patriotic adherents.

" So may the outward ſhews be leaſt themſelves;
" The world is ſtill deceived by ornament.
" In law, what plea ſo tainted and corrupt,
" But being ſeaſon'd with a gracious voice,
" Obſcures the ſhow of evil? In religion,
" What curſed error, but ſome ſober brow
" Will bleſs it, and approve it with a text,
" Hiding the groſſneſs with fair ornament?
" ——————— in a word,
" The ſeeming truth which cunning times put on
" T'entrap the wiſeſt *.

What *patriotic* purpoſe is in view of the foul ſeducers, who attempt to corrupt our army and our navy? Who tell our ſoldiers " they are poſitive ſlaves;" who whiſper mutiny in the ears of our ſailors; and pretend, with great ſerioufneſs and concern, that the ſituation of a peaſant in England is worſe than that of a negro-ſlave in the Weſt Indies.

For what purpoſes are the neceſſities of the ſtate, with the utmoſt exaggerations, by the moſt incongruous compariſons, repreſented to our view? Every ſtate has

its neceſſities; and theſe men are determined we ſhall not forget a truth equally infallible, that every country has its traitors. Theſe are they who, in the midſt of peace and plenty, are ranſacking every corner of the commonwealth for ſubjects, which, however agreeable to their inclinations, will never accompliſh their purpoſe. Who reliſh not the ſweets, but extract the poiſon from every plant. Who collect only the weeds and bitter herbs of their country; and the drugs, after being compounded by a diabolical preparation, are made into pills, and vended about the nation to poiſon its inhabitants.

On this ſubject let us hear and profit by the ſentiments of an experienced politician, who, though often abuſed, never has been fairly anſwered.

" Good order is the foundation of all good things. To be enabled to acquire, the people, without being ſervile, muſt be tractable and obedient. The magiſtrate muſt have his reverence, the laws their

authority. The body of the people muſt not find the principles of natural ſubordination by art rooted out of their minds. They muſt reſpect that property of which they cannot partake. They muſt labour to obtain what by labour can be obtained; and when they find, as they commonly do, the ſucceſs diſproportioned to the endeavour, they muſt be taught their conſolation in the final proportion of eternal juſtice. Of this conſolation, whoever deprives them, deadens their induſtry, and ſtrikes at the root of all acquiſition as of all conſervation. He that does this, is the cruel oppreſſor, the mercileſs enemy of the poor and wretched; at the ſame time that by his wicked ſpeculations he expoſes the fruits of ſucceſsful induſtry, and the accumulations of fortune, to the plunder of the negligent, the diſappointed, and the unproſperous*."

* Burke on the French Revolution.

This is the language of reaſon, confirmed by facts, and illuſtrated by the analogy of every truth natural and revealed.

Such

Such are the ſalutary effects of exaggerating evils, the remedy for which, according to the beſt preſcription, is worſe than the diſeaſe; and ſuch the practice of men, who, under the pretence of reformation, try to ſap the foundation of all authority, by rendering the laws odious, and the magiſtrates contemptible. Theſe men, conſcious that the only grievance *they* have to fear from government, is its excellence and vigour, ſpare no pains to abuſe its indulgences, ſagely expecting, that if others will follow their example of rendering nugatory all law, they ſhall ſoon be in poſſeſſion of the liberty which they ſo much deſire, which is to be independent of all reſtraint. And ſuch is the literal meaning of *modern* reformation.

The word *Reform* has a kind of necromantic power. Enchanted with the ſound, we quite forget the ſenſe; and think of nothing but impartial juſtice, and perfect happineſs. In our imaginations, the golden age riſes to view; liberty and equality are ſung by every bard, and peace and plenty

plenty gladden all the land. But, alas! theſe aërial ſyſtems, when the reality appears, inſtantly vaniſh,

" And, like the baſeleſs fabric of a viſion,
" Leave not a wreck behind."

We are told, a reform of government is neceſſary. Becauſe ſome are very rich, while others are very poor; becauſe ſome are very warm, while others are very cold, are we ſeriouſly told the ſtate ought to be reformed. Next to this, we may expect to hear, that becauſe ſome freeze at the pole, while others burn under the equator, the natural world ought to be new modelled.

POLI-

POLITICAL LIBERTY.

"ONE of the miſerable follies of depraved human nature, is, that it commonly neglects preſent enjoyments, and ſeldom eſtimates thoſe good things it poſſeſſes at their true value, till deprived of them *." Than this, no obſervation is more common, no remark is more juſt. Fruition and ſatiety are almoſt inſeparable. Hence in our valuation of comparative happineſs, we reaſon, rather from the eſtimations of thoſe, who, deſtitute of the enjoyment, only ſpeculate on its worth; than from the opinions of ſuch as are in the immediate poſſeſſion.

Senſible as are by far the greater part of this nation, of the fitneſs of the actual and poſitive bleſſings of the conſtitution which guards againſt the violation of their per-

* Mr. Care.

ſons

ſons and property; it is, (with a very few inſtances excepted,) to foreigners, that we muſt look for the encomiums which in ſpeculation and in practice, this ſyſtem has been found moſt juſtly to deſerve. To this conſtitution has Monteſquieu, in his "Eſprit des Loix" dedicated one of his chapters; on this conſtitution has De Lolme written a volume, which is not leſs honourable to the author than to the ſubject it contains.

Liberty, independence, and licentiouſneſs, have together been moſt ignorantly and wantonly confounded: and among the men who uſe the word, there is ſcarcely a greater difference in their numbers, than in their opinions. What, if unreſtrained, to act as they pleaſe, at all times, and upon all occaſions, the different intereſts, partialities, averſions and paſſions of men were let looſe!—What, if the barriers of ſubordination were broken up, and every one were permitted an unbounded ſcope of action! Have we not heard ſuch kind of *liberty*

berty extolled? Are not Engliſhmen exhorted to follow the glorious example?

" And the example of France, we truſt in God, will be ſucceſsful, and that Engliſhmen may be inſpired by it. * "

Political liberty is conſidered both in relation to the *Conſtitution*, and to the *Subject*.

In the Britiſh Conſtitution are realized the rational deſign and true end of all civil ſocieties. The people of this country, though they may wiſh for ſome wiſe and temperate reformation in the election of their repreſentatives in Parliament, are ſtill unanimous in conſidering as the worſt of traitors the men who wiſh to " undermine" the conſtitution. Under this conſtitution, they enjoy the bleſſings of liberty, and they eſteem it no diſgrace in being called " court ſycophants," and " treaſury hire- " lings"—for ſpeaking in its defence.

* Jockey Club, part I. page 7.

What if ſuch levellers had the accompliſhment of their wiſhes who praiſe the Republican form of government, would that make them more happy? Aſſume that it would; do we ſuppoſe that they would be in conſequence more peaceable? We are miſtaken if we thus imagine:—they would grow tired of this in its turn, and become clamorous for ſome other form. But neither would they be advantaged by the change; hiſtory ſtamps a negative upon all ſuch viſionary ſpeculations.

In the Republic, decorated even with the Roman name, whatever of popularity might have attended it, the evils and the advantages were miſerably unequal. Among the ſeveral bodies of their ſtate, what is to be found of harmony—in their occaſional and tumultuous laws, what of wiſdom—in their looſe and disjointed government, diſfigured by eternal factions, what of firmneſs? In conſtant diſorder, in continual fluctuation, we are told theſe circumſtances

are favorable to liberty; * while they moſt aſſuredly operate to its deſtruction.

Faction is the death of liberty. Carthage, that famous kingdom, flouriſhed, it is true, for many centuries under the Republican form of government: "But afterwards, "when the people grew inſolent, and "would no longer depend upon the Se-"nate, all was tumult; till having by vio-"lence aſſumed more power than they "had a right to do, or were able to ma-"nage, they became one of the principal "cauſes of its ruin." †

* To defend innovation, we are commonly told, that were it not for this, we never ſhould have enjoyed the liberties we poſſeſs. The fact is the reverſe.

The Barons, in manfully uniting for the confirmation of the Great Charter, introduced no innovation, but on the contrary took the moſt effectual method for its prevention, by rendering permanent that which by preſcription was before made ſacred. Such was the caſe in the reign of Henry the Third, "ſince "the Kings, ſucceſſors of Henry, dreading to expoſe "themſelves to the like dangers, durſt not any more "venture to revoke theſe Charters, which are the "*Baſis* and *Foundation* of the Liberty of the Engliſh."
Rapin, Vol. I. b 8.

† Reflections on Ancient and Modern Hiſtory.

It has been ſaid, that the conſtitution may be free, while the ſubject may not be ſo; but this is not the caſe, nor can it be in this country. Of the foundation of Britiſh liberties, the chief corner ſtones are immoveable. Theſe are our Magna Charta, Petition of Right, Habeas Corpus act, the Trial by Jury, to which may be added the Star-Chamber act. For the greater ſecurity of the ſubject, the legiſlative body (certain temporary ſuſpenſions excepted) conſtantly ſits; nor can the Monarch, although poſſeſſed of a power to diſſolve it, prevent its meeting for any length of time, ſhould he make the attempt. The Stuart family were, in this reſpect, obliged to ſacrifice their inclinations to their neceſſities

But—"The legiſlative body is corrupt. "The bare name of a town, of which there "remains not ſo much as the ruins, where "ſcarce ſo much houſing as a ſheep-coat, "or more inhabitants than a ſhepherd, is to "be found, ſends as many repreſentatives "to the grand aſſembly of law-makers, as

"Whole

" a whole county, numerous in people,
" and powerful in riches. At this ſtrang-
" ers ſtand amazed, and every one muſt
" confeſs needs a remedy." †

And has not Mr. Pitt alſo acknowledged that this " needs a remedy?" Yet the author of the Jockey Club places theſe two politicians in direct oppoſition: and fond of his odious compariſons, and large capital letters thus introduces them—

" PITT *verſus* LOCKE."

But—" Mr. Pitt has altered his opinion." Has he indeed? Then why does he not *ſay* ſo? The ſon of Chatham has nothing to fear from the conceſſion. We have lately heard from this Senator, that the preſent *time* is not the moſt proper for introducing innovations or reforms; and does this imply that there is nothing in the body politic which " needs a remedy?" If Mr. Pitt had been of this opinion, he would have told us that

* Locke on Government.

it

it would be difficult, if not impoſſible, to find one:—" becauſe the conſtitution of the " legiſlature was the original and ſupreme " act of the ſociety, *antecedent to all poſitive* " *laws* in it: and that, when the legiſlature " is once conſtituted, it has no power to " alter the government ſo long as that go- " vernment ſtands. * " If Mr. Pitt had been of this opinion, he would have told us, that *the people* muſt be diſtinguiſhed from *the faction*: that the former believe the inconveniences of the preſent repreſentation are not ſo great as they are made to appear: that they are even to be defended, in preference to the doctrines of our modern political new-lights, who would introduce a ſyſtem, which in reverſing all order, would effectually deſtroy all liberty.

What then are the fruits of liberty? Cannot its exiſtence be aſcertained by its effects? Spring not flowers beneath the feet of this Goddeſs?

* Locke on Government.

No-

Nothing can ſhew more evidently the falſe reaſonings of pretended patriots, than the reſult of the old interrogatory—*Cui bono!* Purſue the inquiry, and it will be found, that inſtead of the incontrovertible bleſſings which are the offspring of what is called the old Gothic ſyſtem: inſtead of protection and ſecurity, tranquil enjoyment, wealth and population, there would reſult from the viſionary ſpeculations of which ſome men are ſo enamoured, all the miſerable conſequences of diſorder, riot, and confuſion; terminating in one general indiſcriminate deſolation.

With honeſt motives, decent and reſpectful language to ſuperiors, reverence to the immutable laws of nature, and true philanthropy (for ſuch alone can be true patriots) men may profeſs themſelves the votaries of Liberty; and deck with ever-greens the altar of the Goddeſs. No diſcord will be heard, while ſuch ſons of freedom join in choral ſong, and chaunt the hymn ſo beautifully conceived by Mr. Addiſon.

" Oh! LIBERTY, thou Goddeſs heav'nly bright,
" Profuſe of bliſs, and pregnant with delight;

" Eter-

" Eternal pleaſures in thy preſence reign,
" And ſmiling *plenty* leads thy wanton train.
" Eas'd of her load, ſubjection grows more light,
" And poverty looks chearful in thy ſight.
" Thou mak'ſt the gloomy face of nature gay,
" Giv'ſt beauty to the ſun, and pleaſure to the day."

POR-

PORTRAITS.

" In the portraits we have given, there did not " appear a neceſſity of adopting any methodical " arrangement——No extraordinary depth of learn- " ing, or extent of erudition is required to give ef- " fect to a publication of this kind: its merits are " of a *different* nature."

Jockey Club, Part I. Page 143.

ON viewing the *portraits* which fill theſe three volumes, we found it impoſſible to diveſt ourſelves of the idea of *caricatures*; for the daubing of this artiſt is by no means peculiar to himſelf, and it would be difficult to diſcover in what he has excelled his contemporaries, except indeed in the groſſneſs of all his colours; and of theſe his partiality to the *dead black* is moſt remarkable.

The colleagues of this promulgator of "moral and political virtue," however, have hitherto far excelled him in the *number* of their benevolent undertakings. For beſides that they have got the ſtart of him as to *time*, their ſhops are daily repleniſhing with new caricatures, etched in a charming free ſtyle, and agreeing preciſely with the Jockey Club in their manner, are likewiſe very cautious leſt we ſhould miſtake their ſubjects. Thus if the King be intended, we find letters and daſhes in this manner —G—GE III. if the Queen, R—Y—L C—L—TTE.

As it is not our principal purpoſe to animadvert here on the individual characters introduced in the Jockey Club, a brief view of this ſubject will inform us, how much credit may be given to the teſtimony of this writer, as an "impartial" biographer. For it would carry us far beyond the bounds preſcribed to theſe obſervations, at this time, to enumerate all the perſons mentioned in this collection; and particularly were we to reply (a taſk not very arduous

arduous with reſpect to *moſt* of the perſons which are brought forward) in a way of perſonal anecdote. There are not wanting facts, which, were they publicly known, would ſoon convince the inhabitants of this country (did they need conviction) that among the nobility and gentry are to be found ſome of their beſt friends and benefactors.

Among the "Portraits," the following are a few of the moſt conſpicuous.

HIS MAJESTY.

" Fallitur, egregio quiſquis ſub Principe credit
" Servitium; nunquam Libertas gratior exſtat
" Quam ſub Rege pio. Claud. Stil.

A RECAPITULATION of the heinous crimes with which, loſt to all ſhame, the author charges the Britiſh monarch, will be a ſufficient refutation.

It is ſcarcely poſſible to imagine (if any at all) what principle could direct ſuch unqualified, outrageous, and malevolent accuſations; nor can we conjecture any motive, except it were to convince the world that the writer had abandoned all natural, civil, and moral obligations; and had bid defiance to every reſtraint, human and divine.

When

When we are told that His Majeſty is poſſeſſed of ſtern and inflexible cruelty, ſordid ſelfiſhneſs and avarice; when we are told that his government is nothing better than tyranny, nor his piety than hypocriſy, we turn away from ſuch a "portrait" with inſufferable horror; and find it impoſſible not to think, that the *artiſt* having painted his own likeneſs, is endeavouring to impoſe it on the world for that of another perſon.

THE

THE QUEEN.

" Your praiſe the Nobles and Plebeians ſing,
" With your fair Name the Court and Cottage ring."
Tate Imit. Ovid.

IN ancient time, loyalty was ranked among the virtues; Princes were conſidered as the common father of their ſubjects, and every boſom glowed with a kind of natural affection to the ſovereign of their country.

Not ſo at this *enlightened* period. High rank and great virtues are in modern times only conſidered as " ſuperior game" for licentious ſport and baſe defamation. Notwithſtanding the amiable conduct of Her Majeſty—uniformly amiable; notwithſtanding the poignant grief under which ſhe laboured during the indiſpoſition of

one of the beſt of huſbands; yet is this Princeſs held up to view in the moſt execrable light, accuſed of crimes which it would be infamous even to repeat. We ſhall only add, that *ſuch* charges carry with them their own refutation.

THE

THE PRINCE OF WALES.

" —— Vitiis nemo ſine naſcitur.
Hor. Lib. I. Sat. III.

SOME cauſe for blame, amidſt the eccentricities and exuberances of a mind naturally open, unſuſpicious, and inclined to voluptuous gratifications, often has been employed for the purpoſes of baſe invective, and diſmal propheſies concerning the Prince of Wales.

In this article, after a preamble, in which the author devoutly hopes " that " the ancient ſyſtem is nearly at an " end," his Royal Highneſs is arraigned for keeping bad company—for diſhonourable treatment of Mrs. Fitzherbert—and for the

the total want of active benevolence towards the poor and diſtreſſed.

Concerning the firſt of theſe, it is only neceſſary to obſerve, that he who has occaſion to aſſociate with a multitude of individuals, muſt neceſſarily be ſometimes in the company of ſome whoſe conduct cannot be juſtified. The ſecond charge, reſpecting Mrs. Fitzherbert, is evidently nothing more than a Canterbury tale, introduced for the ſake of anecdote. The third, as it is more ſerious, is more infamous than either. Is there " no one ſin-" gle inſtance on record" of the Prince's generoſity ?

It is not only well known that there are many, but it is alſo known, that theſe inſtances of benevolence are not artificial ; that the Prince, although precipitated into errors through the force of ſtrong paſſions, has naturally a generous heart, always open to conviction, and in which hypocriſy is unknown. To this

Prince may aptly be applied thoſe lines of Arly, in his verſes on the ſubject of Detraction

" Hard and cruel is his lot,
" Every merit is denied,
" All his virtues are forgot,
" All his errors magnified."

MR.

MR. PITT.

" O dirum exitium mortalibus! ô nihil unquam
" Creſcere, nec magnus patiens exſurgere laudes
" Invidia!

EXTRAORDINARY talents, and great popularity, have never eſcaped the mildew of envy. To what we have had occaſion already to mention reſpecting this character, we ſhall only add an extract from a letter of the celebrated Mr. Day, whoſe impartiality on this ſubject will not be queſtioned.

" If Mr. Pitt wiſhes to put the almoſt-exhauſted reſources of the country into ſome order, to make proviſion for the payment of public debts, and to eaſe the people of ſome of their burthens, which, if they are not taken off, will infallibly cruſh all commerce and induſtry; if he will en-

deavour, by ſteadily purſuing theſe objects, to merit the approbation of the virtuous, *he will certainly meet with it*, and it is their duty TO ASSIST HIM, (not with ſlanderous falſehoods) each according to his ability.

" As to the reform of Parliament, I think Mr. Pitt has diſcharged his promiſe, and the very reaſons which have provoked ſome of my brother reformers, are with me the ſtrongeſt motives for admitting his ſincerity. To expect that the Miniſter of a great, and above all, a corrupted ſtate like this ſhould calmly and deliberately demoliſh the whole frame of government for the ſake of making an experiment, is betraying a lamentable ignorance of human nature. I am not myſelf ſuch a child as either to expect or wiſh that all government ſhould ſtand ſtill in ſuch a wonderfully complicated ſyſtem of ſociety as our own, in order that *two* or *three* reformers may try their ſkill in greaſing the wheels."

This

This letter is dated September 5, 1785.— And let the public judge, whether Mr. Pitt's political conduct has not been in perfect uniſon with this advice: whether he has not "put the almoſt exhauſted reſources "of the country into order:" and whether he has not "eaſed the people of "ſome of their burthens." As theſe facts defy contradiction, the miniſter in conſequence actually meets "the approbation of "the virtuous;" and they will continue "to aſſiſt him, according to their ability."

Mr.

Mr. BURKE.

" If I'm bely'd, ſhall I turn pale for this?
" Falſe honors pleaſe, and falſe reports diſgrace,
" And trouble, whom?—The vicious and the baſe"
Creech Imit. Hor.

NOT this veteran in political campaigns—no infamous falſehoods can make him change colour, no invectives, though flying thick around, can diſcompoſe his regular operations.

But is this the only man, known in the republic of letters, who has proteſted againſt pſeudo patriotiſm? Are there no others to be found, who " conſider thoſe as the " worſt enemies to the happineſs of man- " kind, who, in purſuit of an Utopian " plan of government, which can never be " realized, wiſh to ſubvert this beautiful " political fabric?" *

* Monthly Review, Appendix to Vol VIII. page 530.

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The attempt of the enemies of Mr. *Burke* to blaſt his character, originates from a cauſe of which every perſon is acquainted. Whilſt the author of the Jockey Club endeavors to plant a dagger in the heart of the reputation † of an honeſt man; Mr. Burke could not have given a greater manifeſtation of his integrity, than by acting in the identical manner which has brought upon him ſuch reiterated and unmerited contumelies.

Of his talents, we beg permiſſion to inſert an extract from a ſketch publiſhed in the Gazetteer, upwards of thirteen years ago.

" Mr. Burke's ſources of knowledge are inexhauſtible; and his materials drawn forth with great judgement. His memory is faithful, and his mind teems with the moſt luxuriant imagery, cloathed in the moſt

† See the ſtory of the *Bond*, Part III. This bond is known to have been cancelled by the party concerned, and Mr. Burke's character in this affair, remains unimpeached to this day, except by this villainous report and notorious miſrepreſentation.

elegant

elegant language, and in apt and happy modes of expreſſion. His details are often intereſting and important, and always correct: his arguments are plauſible, generally logical, replete with information, and never ſupported upon deſigned miſrepreſentation, or wild random aſſertions, to anſwer the temporary purpoſes of debate. His facts are ſeldom aſſumed, and when they are, he ingeniouſly founds them on certain current opinions, perhaps controverted, but known however to exiſt.

" His knowledge of parliamentary buſineſs is ſo vaſt and multifarious, that there is no ſubject which comes under diſcuſſion, whether politics, finances, commerce, manufactures, internal police, &c. with all their diviſions and ſubdiviſions, which he does not treat in ſo maſterly and technical a manner, as to induce ſuch as hear him to imagine he had dedicated a conſiderable portion of his life to the inveſtigation of that particular ſubject.

" This ſketch we preſent to our readers, as a very imperfect attempt to delineate the

the uncommon parliamentary abilities of this great political genius. We cannot, however, diſmiſs the ſubject, without obſerving that his abilities are accompanied with a very extraordinary inſtance of an union of talents, ſcarcely compatible; for it is difficult to decide whether he ſpeaks or writes better; or whether he deliberates with greater judgement, or plans and directs with greater aptitude, ſagacity, or foreſight."

CONCLUSION.

THE author of theſe obſervations judges it neceſſary, before he diſmiſſes the ſubject, to obſerve, that no one individual mentioned in the Jockey Club, has any concern or knowledge in this undertaking: and that he has every reaſon to juſtify himſelf, in declaring, he is not influenced either by intereſt or prejudice. He feels himſelf far above regarding any epithets with which he may be branded for his attachment to the venerable and excellent conſtitution of his country: he diſavows all perſonal enmity againſt any one individual exiſting: with certain opinions, and not with perſons, he profeſſes to be at variance. And at the ſame time if it be admitted that there is truth (and God knows there is ſometimes too much) in the diſmal repreſentations

ſentations which are given to the public; can it be affirmed, that there is nothing to praiſe? Amidſt the licentiouſneſs of the times, have we leſs to fear from diſorderly and ruinous principles, than from the conduct of a few gameſters; or can thoſe who love their country, imagine even the *poſſibility* of its being defaced and torn to pieces, without emotion? Who can view even the natural and artificial productions of this beautiful country, without deprecating ſuch an event?

Favoured by nature, this Iſland, however ſmall in its dimenſions, loſes nothing of its conſequence, when compared with the largeſt kingdom of the globe. Not to ſpeak of its happy inſular ſituation and temperate air; the richneſs of its ſoil; its ſprings, rivers, lakes, foreſts, and mountains; or of its animal, mineral, and vegetable productions: this country, for its great wealth and population, its interior polity, and for improvements in arts and ſciences, manufactures and commerce, ranks among the firſt nations of the earth. To

this may be added the enjoyment of liberty, both civil and religious, of which did men by experience know what it is to be deprived of the enjoyment, they would not fancy this country to be a land of bondage.

Deſpotiſm and Monarchy have no more natural affinity, than liberty and licentiouſneſs; it is therefore not impoſſible for the ſame individual to execrate the deſpotic tyrant, who is at the ſame time firmly attached to the limited Monarch. He who is ſenſible of the deſtructive effects of tumultuous arbitrations, and lawleſs mobs, may nevertheleſs be a friend to freedom; not to a *certain* kind of liberty it is true, but to a freedom which, whilſt it includes all, ſhall benefit every one. He who commiſerates the diſtreſs, may nevertheleſs pity the folly of a neighbouring nation; which, in extirpating evils, accumulates others, in number and in magnitude greater perhaps than the former. Even the beſt affected towards foreign revolutions, by which tyranny is extirpated, may feel an indignant regret that there ſhould exiſt any men weak

or

or wicked enough to propoſe the ſame remedy in this country, where deſpotiſm, tyranny, and the rack are equally unknown. Cannot a ſubject of Britain wiſh well to his country, without muttering infernal ejaculations, to all the powers of confuſion, that, " now, while the minds of men are fluſhed with the glorious example of France," that now is the time to

" ——————— cry havoc,
" And let ſlip the dogs of war."

Cannot men ſpeak of reformation, without provoking the lawleſs to commit deſtruction? Cannot they point out defects without exaggerations? Cannot they uſe freedom of diſquiſition without inſulting magiſtrates: cannot they uſe their liberty without abuſing it?

The men who deſerve well of their country, are thoſe, who when " hollow mur-
" murings under ground, that threaten a
" general earthquake in the political
" world" are heard—who, when convulſive motions are felt, bid beware: and imprint a word of *caution*, at a time when the

the frenzy for novel and pernicious doctrines is yet far from being universal: when the *multa falsissima et indigna* become contagious by example, and sanctioned by continual and daring precedents.

FINIS.